

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 0207

FOR NEA/RA

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CENTO PFOR

SUBJECT: CENTO GUIDANCE PAPER

REF: STATE 001921

1. THE CENTO POLITICAL WORKING GROUP MET JAN 10 AND DISCUSSED PARAS 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, AND 10 OF THE DRAFT PAPER, "POLITICAL GUIDANCE FOR MILITARY PLANNING", REVISION 3, WITH THE FOLLOWING RESULTS:

A. THERE BEING NO AGREEMENT ON PARA 2 OF THE POLITICAL GUIDANCE PAPER, THE CENTO SECRETARIAT CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING REVISION:

BEGIN TEXT

2. THE MAIN THREAT TO THE AREA AND TO THE SECURITY AND STABILITY OF CENTO MEMBER COUNTRIES COMES BASICALLY FROM THE SOVIET UNION. THE USSR AIMS EVENTUALLY TO ESTABLISH ITSELF AS A DOMINANT MAJOR POWER IN THE AREA BY THE COORDINATED USE OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SUBVERSIVE AND MILITARY MEANS TO DISPLACE THE TIES OF THE REGIONAL COUNTRIES WITH THE WESTERN WORLD, INCLUDING THE WEAKENING OR

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ELIMINATION OF

ALLIANCES AND DEFENCE AND ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS. IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THESE AIMS, THE SOVIET UNION MAY ACT THROUGH COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO THE CENTO REGION, WHERE IT IS CONTINUALLY TRYING TO DEVELOP POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE. IN CERTAIN CASES IT HAS ALREADY DONE SO. WHILE SUBVERSION IS THE MAIN FORM THAT THE THREAT MAY TAKE, THE MILITARY CAPABILITY OF THE

SOVIET UNION CONSTITUTES A FORMIDABLE ELEMENT IN THE GENERAL
THREAT TO THE CENTO REGION.
END TEXT

B. THE GROUP ACCEPTED PARA 3 OF THE PAPER.

C. IN PARA 4 OF THE DRAFT PAPER, THE IRANIAN REP PROPOSED
DELETING THE PORTION OF THE PARAGRAPH BEGINNING
"AND SUPPORT IRAQ" AND CONTINUING TO THE END OF THE PARAGRAPH.
HE EXPLAINED THAT IN VIEW OF THE IMPROVEMENT IN IRAN'S RELATIONS
WITH IRAQ, HIS GOVT CONSIDERED THE LANGUAGE WHICH HE
PROPOSED TO DELETE NO LONGER APPLICABLE. THUS REVISED, THE
PARAGRAPH WAS ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER REPS.

D. PARA 6 OF THE DRAFT WAS ACCEPTABLE TO ALL REPS EXCEPT
THAT OF THE UK, WHO SAID THAT HMG WOULD PREFER TO
ELIMINATE THE FIRST SENTENCE. HE AGREED TO RECONSIDER THE
PARAGRAPH AND HIS OBJECTIONS.

E. THE SECRETARIAT CIRCULATED THE FOLLOWING REFORMULATION
OF PARAS 9 AND 10 OF THE DRAFT PAPER:

BEGIN TEXT

PARAGRAPH 9:

THE USE OF THESE SOVIET FORCES MENTIONED ABOVE WOULD
HOWEVER BE AT THE EXPENSE OF RESERVES OR FORCES ALREADY
DEPLOYED FACING NATO AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA.
THE SOVIETS ARE NOT LIKELY TO STRENGTHEN THEIR FORCES IN THE SOUTH
AT THE EXPENSE OF THEIR VIGILANCE IN THE EAST OR IN THE WEST.
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HOWEVER, SHOULD CIRCUMSTANCES ARISE THAT MIGHT LEAD TO A
REDUCTION OF THE SOVIET FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, THERE IS
THE THEORETICAL POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET REDEPLOYMENT ELSEWHERE
BECOMING FEASIBLE.. PERHAPS INCLUDING REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE
SOVIET FORCES IN THE SOUTH. THIS MIGHT HAVE IMPLICATIONS FOR
THE CENTO REGION.

PARAGRAPH 10:

IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL DELIBERATELY
INITIATE WAR (GENERAL OR LIMITED) IN THE CENTO AREA OR ENGAGE
IN AN OPEN ATTACK ON ANY OF THE REGIONAL COUNTRIES,
SINCE THIS WOULD INVOLVE SERIOUS RISK OF A GENERAL WAR WITH A
CONSEQUENT DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR. THOUGH SOVIET MILITARY
INTERVENTION IN THE EVENT OF POLITICAL UNREST IN ONE OF THE
REGIONAL COUNTRIES IS UNLIKELY UNDER FORESEEABLE CIRCUMSTANCES,
IT CANNOT BE RULED OUT COMPLETELY. HOWEVER THE SOVIET UNION
HAS THE CAPABILITY TO MOUNT A SURPRISE ATTACK; CONSEQUENTLY
AN INDICATION THAT EACH COUNTRY ASSOCIATED IN THE CENTRAL
TREATY ORGANIZATION HAS THE INDIVIDUAL ABILITY TO MAKE A

QUICK INTERVENTION RESPONSE MIGHT ADD TO THE DETERRENT VALUE
OF CENTO.
END TEXT

F. IN COMMENTING ON PARA 10, THE IRANIAN REP SAID
THAT HIS GOVT WOULD WANT THE DELETION OF THE PHRASE "WITH A
CONSEQUENT DANGER OF NUCLEAR WAR". HE EXPLAINED THAT THE
INCLUSION OF THIS LANGUAGE WOULD BE INCONSISTENT WITH THE
IRANIAN COMMITMENT TO A NUCLEAR-FREE REGION. THE TURKISH
DELEGATE ASKED FOR A PAPER FROM THE IRANIAN REP EXPLAINING
IN DETAIL THE IRANIAN POSITION ON NUCLEAR WAR. HE OBSERVED
THAT THE EXCLUSION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM THE CENTO REGION
WOULD NOT EXCLUDE THEM FROM THE USSR.

G. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE POLITICAL WORKING GROUP WOULD
MEET AGAIN ON MONDAY, JAN 17, AT TEN A.M. THE
CHAIRMAN ASKED THAT IF POSSIBLE ALL REPS HAVE INSTRUCTIONS FROM
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THEIR GOVTS ON THE PROPOSED REFORMULATIONS.

2. COMMENT: WE WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR THE JAN 17
MEETING. AS REGARDS THE SECRETARIAT'S REFORMULATION OF PARA 2
OF THE DRAFT PAPER, AS QUOTED IN SUBPARA 1A ABOVE, WE BELIEVE THAT
THE US SHOULD REQUEST TWO CHANGES: (A) IN FIRST SENTENCE
WE SHOULD ASK THAT THE WORD "BASICALLY" BE DELETED, SO AS
TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE MAIN THREAT COMES ONLY FROM THE
SOVIET UNION; (B) WE SHOULD ASK THAT THE THIRD SENTENCE,
BEGINNING "IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE THESE AIMS" AND ENDING "POSITIONS
OF INFLUENCE", BE DELETED AS TENDING TO ENLARGE CENTO'S
PURVIEW. AS REGARDS THE REFORMULATION OF PARA 10, QUOTED
IN SUBPARA 1E, THE DEPT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER WHETHER A BROADENING
OF THE US COMMITMENT WOULD BE IMPLIED BY THE FINAL SENTENCE.
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